CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 4 of 1898.]

REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS

FOR THE

Week ending the 22nd January 1898.

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Nil.	

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

No.	Names of newspapers.	Place of publication.	Reported number of subscribers.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.	Remarks.
	Bengali.	**Calcutta.**			
	Weekly.				
1	"Bangavasi"	Calcutta ...	20,000	15th January, 1898.	
2	"Basumati"	Ditto ...	.....		
3	"Hitaishi"	Ditto ...	800	18th ditto.	
4	"Hitavadi"	Ditto ...	About 4,000	14th ditto.	
5	"Mihir-o-Sudhakar" ...	Ditto ...	1,250	14th ditto.	
6	"Sahachar"	Ditto ...	About 500	12th ditto.	
7	"Samay"	Ditto ...	3,000	14th and 21st ditto.	
8	"Samutthan" ..	Ditto ...	... ..	19th ditto.	
9	"Sanjivani"	Ditto ...	3,000	15th ditto.	
10	"Som Prakash" ...	Ditto ...	800	17th ditto.	
11	"Sulabh Samachar" ...	Ditto ...	.....		
	Daily.				
1	"Banga Vidya Prakashika"	Ditto ...	300	15th and 17th to 21st January 1898.	
2	"Dainik-o-Samachar Chandrika."	Ditto ...	1,000	16th to 20th ditto.	
3	"Samvad Prabhakar" ...	Ditto ...	1,132	15th and 17th to 21st ditto.	
4	"Samvad Purnachandrodaya"	Ditto ...	200	14th, 15th and 17th to 21st ditto.	
5	"Sulabh Dainik" ...	Ditto ...	Read by 3,000		
	Hindi.				
	Fortnightly.				
1	"Marwari Gazette" ...	Ditto ...	.....	9th January, 1898.	
	Weekly.				
1	"Bharat Mitra" ...	Ditto ...	2,000		
2	"Hindi Bangavasi" ...	Ditto ...	10,000	17th ditto.	
	Persian.				
	Weekly.				
1	"Hablul Mateen" ...	Ditto ...	500		
	Urdu.				
	Weekly.				
1	"Darussaltanat and Urdu Guide."	Ditto ...	310	13th ditto.	
2	"General and Gauhariasfi"	Ditto ...	330	17th ditto.	
	Tri-weekly.				
1	"Nusrat-ul-Islam" ...	Ditto ...	.....	7th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th and 19th ditto.	

No.	Names of Newspapers.	Place of publication.	Reported number of subscribers.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.	Remarks.
	Bengali.	**Burdwan Division.**			
	Fortnightly.				
1	"Pallivasi" ...	Kalna ...	.....		
	Weekly.				
1	"Bankura Darpan" ...	Bankura ...	500	16th January, 1898.	
2	"Bankura Hitaishi" ...	Ditto ...	.....		
3	"Burdwan Sanjivani" ...	Burdwan ...	250		
4	"Chinsura Vartavaha" ...	Chinsura ..	620	16th ditto.	
5	"Education Gazette" ...	Hooghly ...	1,280	14th ditto.	
	Bengali.	**Presidency Division.**			
	Weekly.				
1	"Murshidabad Hitaishi" ...	Murshidabad ...	696	12th ditto.	
2	"Pratikar"	Ditto ...	603	14th ditto.	
	Uriya.	**Orissa Division.**			
	Weekly.				
1	"Sambalpur Hitaishini" ...	Bamra in the Central Provinces.	.....	.....	This paper is said to have some circulation in the Division, but the number of subscribers could not be ascertained.
2	"Samvad Vahika" ...	Balasore ...	190	2nd December, 1897.	
3	"Uriya and Navasamvad" ...	Ditto ...	309	1st ditto.	
4	"Utkal Dipika" ...	Cuttack ...	480	4th ditto.	
	Hindi.	**Patna Division.**			
	Monthly.				
1	"Bihar Bandhu" ...	Bankipur ...	About 600		
	Weekly.				
1	"Aryavarta"	Dinapur ...	1,000		
	Urdu.				
	Weekly.				
1	"Al Punch"	Bankipur ...	500	14th January, 1898.	
2	"Gaya Punch"	Gaya ...	400	17th ditto.	
	Bengali.	**Bhagalpur Division.**			
	Fortnightly.				
1	"Gaur Varta" ...	Malda ...	.....		
	Bengali.	**Rajshahi Division.**			
	Weekly.				
1	"Hindu Ranjika" ...	Boalia, Rajshahi ...	243		
2	"Rangpur Dikprakash" ...	Kakina, Rangpur ...	180	.....	This paper is not regularly published for want of type.
	Hindi.				
	Monthly.				
1	"Darjeeling Mission ke Masik Samachar Patrika."	Darjeeling ...	700		

No.	Names of Newspapers.	Place of publication.	Reported number of subscribers.	Dates of papers received and examined for the week.	Remarks.
	Bengali.	**Dacca Division.**			
	Fortnightly.				
1	"Faridpur Hitaishini" ...	Faridpur ...	.....	12th January, 1898.	
2	"Kasipur Nivasi" ...	Kasipur, Barisal ...	315	12th ditto.	
	Weekly.				
1	"Barisal Hitaishi" ...	Barisal ...	.....		
2	"Charu Mihir" ...	Mymensingh ...	900	10th ditto.	
3	"Dacca Prakash" ...	Dacca ...	2,400	16th ditto.	
4	"Sanjay"	Faridpur ...	.....	14th ditto.	
5	"Saraswat Patra" ...	Dacca ...	About 500		
	English and Bengali.				
	Weekly.				
1	"Dacca Gazette" ...	Dacca ...	500	17th ditto.	
	Bengali.	**Chittagong Division.**			
	Fortnightly.				
1	"Tripura Hitaishi" ...	Comilla ...	.....		
	Weekly.				
1	"Sansodhini"	Chittagong ...	120		
	Bengali.	**Assam.**			
1	"Paridarshak-o-Srihattavasi"	Sylhet ...	.....		
2	"Silchar"	Silchar, Cachar ...	.....		

II.—Home Administration.

(a)—*Police.*

A correspondent of the *Charu Mihir* of the 10th January complains of the conduct of the Gopalpur police in the Mymensingh district in making no investigation into the mysterious disappearance of Mahim Chandra Deb, of Simla, and taking no steps to identify the highly decomposed dead body which was found concealed under water-cresses in a pond near the village. The cruelty of the police in having the bones of the dead body mentioned above hung up in a basket on a tree near Mahim Chandra's house, where they must remain before the eyes of his sorrowing relatives, is also noticeable. It is hoped that the superior police authorities of Mymensingh will make proper enquiries into Mahim Chandra's disappearance and the circumstance of the dead body referred to having been found near his village. The people of Simla seem to have little doubt that the dead body in question is that of Mahim Chandra, and that his death was brought about by some person who knew him well.

Unsatisfactory police investigation of a case in the Mymensingh district.

Charu Mihir, Jan. 10th, 1898.

2. The *Hindi Bangavasi* of the 17th January says that Mr. Shuttleworth, District Superintendent of Police, Darrang in Assam, while on tour, cruelly oppressed the people of a village called Behali in order to collect *rasad*. He actually caused the village to be looted by the constables, and, not satisfied with doing this, he made one Bhusunram constable bring a charge of unlawful assembly against four or five men who were arrested by the police. The people of the village in question have petitioned the higher authorities complaining of the conduct of Mr. Shuttleworth. It is hoped that the wrongs inflicted upon the poor villagers will be redressed.

Mr. Shuttleworth, District Superintendent of Police, Darrang.

Hindi Bangavasi, Jan. 17th, 1898.

(b)—*Working of the Courts.*

3. The *Charu Mihir* of the 10th January requests Mr. Harris, Magistrate of Mymensingh, now that he is on a visit of inspection to the Jamalpur subdivisional cutcherry, to inspect the records of the cases disposed of by the Subdivisional Officer. Such an inspection will show him that in many cases the Deputy Magistrate has made unnecessary postponements. There is, also, a belief in Jamalpur that justice is not always had of the Deputy Magistrate in big cases.

The Deputy Magistrate of Jamalpur in the Mymensingh district.

Charu Mihir, Jan. 10th, 1898.

4. The same paper says that it will be very inconvenient if the Judge's and the Subordinate Judges' Courts in Mymensingh are removed to a new building near the school and the Munsifis and the record-room are kept in the old building, as has been proposed. The conveying of records peremptorily wanted in the course of the hearing of suits will, under the proposed arrangement, take much time, and the room constructed by the pleaders for their Bar Library will also become useless. A preferable course would be either to purchase more land near the existing cutcherry and construct both the buildings on the site, or to remove the school to the existing cutcherry building and utilise the present school building for locating some portion of the Civil Courts and construct a new building near it for the remaining portion.

The Civil Court buildings in Mymensingh.

Charu Mihir

5. The *Murshidabad Hitaishi* of the 12th January has been alarmed to hear that Mr. B. K. Mullick, the new Magistrate of Murshidabad, has issued an order for the cancellation of the licenses for fire-arms which are held by *dhangars*. Mr. Mullick being new to the district cannot form an idea of the amount of mischief which will be done by his order. If the *dhangars* are not allowed to possess fire-arms, it will be impossible in many parts of the district to protect crops against the ravages of wild boars.

An order of the Magistrate of Murshidabad under the Arms Act.

Murshidabad Hitaishi, Jan. 12th, 1898.

6. The *Hitavadi* of the 14th January says that those who have watched the proceedings of Babu Umes Chandra Batavyal in the Woodside case must admit that from the very beginning he tried his best to do justice to the

Babu Umes Chandra Batavyal in the Woodside case.

Hitaishi, Jan. 14th, 1898.

accused. Let Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Indian editors see how a black Magistrate has dealt with a white offender. There is not a trace of anger, vindictiveness, harshness or race-feeling in his proceedings.

SOM PRAKASH, Jan. 17th, 1898.

Supersession of Mr, Brajendra Kumar Sil, District Judge.

7. The *Som Prakash* of the 17th January censures the Government for thrice overlooking the claims of Mr. Brajendra Kumar Sil, District Judge, to promotion. Mr. Sil is senior to both Mr. B. L. Gupta and Mr. Stevens, the new Judge of the High Court, and ought to have been promoted before both of them. Mr. Sil was appointed a first grade District and Sessions Judge in 1891, whilst Mr. Gupta got that rank in 1894. Again, Mr. Sil was confirmed as a District Judge in 1881, whilst Mr. Stevens got a permanent Judgeship so late as 1894. It is true that Mr. Sil is only a Statutory Civilian, but the Secretary of State's order has made Statutory Civilians eligible for all posts held by Civilians. It is hoped therefore that on the retirement of Mr. Justice Ghose, the Government will see fit to give his place to Mr. Sil and not to any Vakil. Too many Vakils have already enjoyed High Court Judgeships in supersession of the claims of the Judicial Service.

(c)—*Jails.*

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The jail experiences of the Editor of the *Hitavadi*.

8. The Editor of the *Hitavadi* continues the narrative of his jail experiences in his issue of the 14th January :—

I have already said that prisoners keep two-anna pieces in artificial holes in their throats. These coins are chiefly employed in carrying on a trade in tobacco. Besides tobacco, *ganja* and opium too are found to be used in jail, but not to the extent of tobacco. New prisoners hear of these illegal trades from old prisoners. These trades are carried on with the assistance of jail guards and employés. It is with their assistance that new prisoners take to the use of these intoxicating drugs. Let no one suppose that prisoners alone are guilty of using intoxicating articles. In his letter No. 6153 of 1886, Dr. Lethbridge, Inspector-General of Jails, wrote as follows to the Superintendent :—

"It is with extreme regret that I notice that some of the European warders have again taken to habits of intemperance. I have ordered the removal of Mr. J.——. Mr. S.—— and Mr. M.—— must be seriously warned that the least indication of intemperance in future will be followed by dismissal from the service. I cannot tolerate drunken habits in men engaged in such responsible works."

Will anybody readily believe that these intemperate habits of jail officers have not been cured in the ten or twelve years that have since elapsed? Indeed, I frequently used to find one of the officers referred to above, who is no longer a warder, but holds a higher office, dead drunk. It is no wonder that prisoners should take to intemperate habits with such example before them. Native warders are not drunkards, but they incite prisoners to breach of jail rules in various ways.

A description of the other vices which prevail among prisoners will be offensive to respectable ears. Far from the character of prisoners being improved in jail, it is deteriorated by evil company and evil example as well as temptations and harassments.

Prisoners are frequently accused by the authorities of malingering. This charge is not altogether unfounded. With a view to escape harassment prisoners intentionally bring on fever and diarrhœa and produce hurts. Many old prisoners have died of diseases so produced. From one or two such instances of perversity the authorities have concluded that in the majority of cases prisoners feign illness. Our late Police Commissioner, Mr. Harrison, noted as follows on page 6 of the Visitors' Book :—

"One of these convicts was apparently suffering from fever and complained that doctor did not visit him daily." To this the Superintendent replied :—

"These *budmashes* are visited daily by the Civil Hospital Assistant by my order dated 16th April (see Minute Book) duly sanctioned by the Inspector-General. I have no reason to believe that they have ever been neglected in this way."

We have already said much about the attention which is paid by the doctor to patients. It is, therefore, unnecessary to multiply instances under that head. The authorities disbelieve prisoners in this way no matter whether they are guilty or not, and this is attended with mischievous results.

In many cases prisoners commit faults from their ignorance of the jail rules. There is no arrangement for informing prisoners of those rules. I heard from old prisoners that once such an arrangement had been made. But I found no proof of this during my residence in jail. On examining books, however, I found that in 1886 Babu Jadulal Mallik remarked as follows:—

"Brooks fancies that he has been rather harshly dealt with for not complying with jail rules which, he alleges, have not been promulgated in any form for the information of the prisoners. In my opinion these rules ought to be made known to the prisoners, and if they knowingly infringe them, then they may be amenable for punishment."

The Superintendent agreed with him and made the following remarks:—

"In English prisons a brief extract from all rules which most nearly concern them are printed and hung up in each cell, and if this suggestion meets the approval of the Inspector-General I can have a set of rules drawn up and submitted for approval and sanction."

As a result of this certain rules were printed. I found a copy of the rules rotting among old papers in the writers' office, but did not find any copy of them posted or hung up anywhere. By taking a little trouble the authorities can give all prisoners a general idea of the jail rules. There can be no doubt that the number of jail offences has increased in consequence of their neglect to do so.

(*d*)—*Education.*

9. The *Sahachar* of the 12th January has the following:— SAHACHAR, Jan. 12th, 1898.

Dr. Martin on religious education in Indian schools.

Dr. Martin is perfectly correct in his estimate of present school-boy character in India, where no religious education is imparted in schools. The cases of school-boy insubordination which occurred at Rajshahi and Krishnagar some time ago have clearly proved that school-boys in this country have grown immoral. No one will, therefore, venture to say that Dr. Martin's proposal to give some sort of religious education to school boys is uncalled for. But the question is, whether the method proposed by Dr. Martin is a feasible one or not. It is the policy of the Government to observe perfect religious neutrality in regard to the different classes of its subjects, and it is not easy to say whether the method of religious education suggested by Dr. Martin, namely, the teaching of the broadest principles underlying all religions, will or will not interfere with that policy. Supposing it does not, the project itself will present a difficulty in this way that it will be no easy task to compile a book containing such universal religious principles from which will be excluded everything calculated to give offence to any Indian community. There are atheistic systems prevailing in India and the countries near it which are under British rule, and how will Dr. Martin deal with the followers of such systems? Dr. Martin's proposal is really a most opportune and reasonable one, and it will be a matter of self-congratulation to the people of India, if the Government can see its way to accepting it. The task, however, seems to be an all but impossible one.

Moral education, however, can be easily introduced into schools and may serve the purpose of religious education. Moral instruction on the subject of the school-boy's duty of revering his sovereign, parents, religious preceptors and his country and imparted orally, with illustrations taken from noble lives, will do more to improve the character of school-boys than the reading of any religious book.

10. The *Hitavadi* of the 14th January observes that complaints are rife against the management of the Barasat school boarding. Formerly the local Assistant Surgeon used to pay two daily visits to the boarding and was paid for his services. His services, however, have now been dispensed with. As a consequence of this the inmates of the boarding have virtually to go without any medical treatment whatsoever. On the 23rd December last an inmate of the boarding died of HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The Barasat school boarding.

fever. He died simply through the neglect of the boarding authorities and want of proper medical treatment. Only at the last moment a doctor was called in, but the boy died as soon as the doctor left the boarding house. The authorities ought to ascertain how far these complaints are true.

SANJIVANI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

The proposal regarding Revising Boards of Examiners.

11. With reference to the proposal to appoint Revising Boards of Examiners for the Calcutta University Examinations, the *Sanjivani* of the 15th January observes that Mr. Rowe's suggestion regarding the appointment of Professors as members of such Boards should not be countenanced. If Professors are appointed members of these Boards, there will be every chance of the questions getting divulged. When the Professors of a particular subject used to be appointed examiners in that subject, questions used to be divulged, and rather frequently in the Presidency College. Mr. Rowe's suggestion should not be accepted by the Senate.

SANJIVANI.

Godless education in Bengal.

12. Dr. Martin, writes the same paper, regrets that the system of education in vogue in this country is a godless system, and observes that the evil produced by the system has reached its climax. The Government being an alien Government has so long kept itself aloof from religious instruction. The time, however, has come when indifference should no longer be maintained, and the principles of a universal and unsectarian religion should be taught in Indian schools and colleges. Sir Alfred Croft failed to realize the importance of religious teaching, and it is a great pleasure to notice that Dr. Martin has pointed out the black spot in the Indian educational system and has urged the Government to remove it. Irreligion is the parent of sedition and disaffection. In Europe godlessness is at the root of Nihilism and Socialism. For the good of the Government at least, if not for any thing else, a religious education, based on universal principles, should be imparted in Indian schools and colleges.

(*e*)—*Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.*

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The house of the late Babu Harischandra Mukharji.

13. The *Hitavadi* of the 14th January says that the Calcutta Municipality has acquired the house of the late lamented Babu Harischandra Mukharji, a former editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, for the purpose of extending the Vedepara Road, and the house will be soon pulled down. In other countries people think it a pride to be possessed of the most trifling relics of a departed great man. But merit is not prized at all in this unfortunate country, or why should the local Commissioners take no steps to save the house of Harischandra from destruction? Babu Harischandra was intimately connected with the British Indian Association, and that Association will earn deep disgrace if it does not save Harischandra's ancestral house.

(*g*)—*Railways and communications, including canals and irrigation.*

MURSHIDABAD HITAISHI, Jan. 12th, 1898.

Complaints against the Nalhati-Azimganj Railway.

14. The *Murshidabad Hitaishi* of the 12th January makes the following complaints against the working of the Nalhati-Azimganj railway:—

(1) The train which is timed to leave Nalhati at 9-30 P.M. and reach Azimganj at 11-15 P.M. generally leaves Nalhati so late as not to arrive at Azimganj before 1 or 2 A.M. Arrival at Azimganj at so late an hour, especially in this cold weather, causes great hardship to passengers.

(2) The train which leaves Howrah for Nalhati in the morning is detained 57 minutes at Rampore Hât, and therefore reaches Nalhati after 4 o'clock. Passengers therefore arrive at Azimganj at about 7 o'clock. Those who want to come to Azimganj from upcountry have to wait at Nalhati for full two hours and a half. The detention at Rampur Hât should be shortened, in order to enable passengers to reach Azimganj before dusk.

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The Bengal Central line.

15. The *Hitavadi* of the 14th January writes as follows with reference to the Jhinkargacha collision on the Bengal Central Railway:—

The frequent collisions on the Bengal Central Railway have naturally thrown the public into a panic. These accidents are no doubt due to the Company dismissing able and experienced hands and appointing in their place

raw and inefficient men. The passengers by the Bengal Central line have to undergo a thousand and one inconveniences, but now their life and safety are in danger. It will be much better if the management of the line is transferred to the hands of the Government. The Government should not remain indifferent, but should speedily redress the grievances of the passengers and ensure their safety by taking the management of the line into its own hands.

16. The same paper writes that the East Indian Railway Company have proposed to lay drains in Memari in the Burdwan district for the purpose of taking water from the canal to the pumping reservoir of the station. The inhabitants of Memari complain that the laying of the drains on the site selected by the Railway Company will prejudicially affect the fertility of about a thousand bighas of land. The Memari public pray the Railway Company to take water from the canal as they used to do before, and they are ready to allow the Company to take water for seven years without paying anything for it. If the Company do not agree to this proposal, let them lay drains on a different site to be fixed by the Memari public. It is to be hoped that the Railway authorities will accede to this reasonable prayer.

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The proposed railway drain in Memari.

17. Referring to the recent collision on the Bengal Central Railway, the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* of the 14th January observes that collisions have become so frequent on this line since its transfer to the Rothschilds that people now fear to travel by it. If the Government does not warn the Company, and if one or two more accidents of the nature of those which have already occurred take place, people will have to stop travelling by this line.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, Jan. 14th, 1898.

Accident on the Bengal Central Railway.

18. The *Bangavasi* of the 15th January writes as follows :—

BANGAVASI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

Is fate against the Bengal Central and Eastern Bengal State Railways? Why are accidents taking place there so frequently? There have been at least fourteen accidents on these two lines within the last few months. The late Jhinkargachha accident was rather serious. Many were injured on the occasion, and there were five or six deaths. The Indian public, however, remain quite indifferent and do not appear to care for these deaths. Cripple as they are, they cannot do without the rail. They must travel by rail even at the cost of their lives. The income of the Railway Company is not affected, and they do not therefore care for the accidents. If they had had a grain of kindness, these accidents would not have taken place. For kindness makes a man cautious and careful. A Railway Company ought to be extremely careful. But why is that not the case on the two railway lines in question? Are not the natives of India human beings? Are native lives of no value? We understand that these accidents are chiefly due to the attempt of the railway authorities to run the monster engines which are turned out by the East Coast Railway workshops on lines not so very well and firmly laid. We hope the Lieutenant-Governor will take the matter into his consideration. If the ruler does not protect his subjects, who will?

The collisions on the Bengal Central Railway and the Eastern Bengal State Railway.

(*h*)—*General.*

19. A correspondent of the *Charu Mihir* of the 10th January asks the district authorities of Mymensingh to put matters right in the Katiadi Sub-Registry office, as the Sub-Registrar in charge of the office has not listened to the complaints of the public about the inconveniences which they have to suffer there on going to register documents.

CHARU MIHIR, Jan. 10th, 1898.

A complaint against a Sub-Registry office in the Mymensingh district.

20. Another correspondent of the same paper draws attention to the mistake in the *Calcutta Gazette* which gave Babu Durga Sundar Rai and Hara Sundar Rai of Pabna credit for spending Rs. 15,000 for excavating a tank for public use, when the Babus, as a matter of fact, promised only Rs. 1,500, and may spend a thousand or fifteen hundred more, if necessary.

CHARU MIHIR.

A mistake in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

21. The *Sahachar* of the 12th January says that the Government's first and principal duty now being to devise the measures that should be adopted to avert in future famines like that which visited India this year, it should

SAHACHAR, Jan. 12th, 1898.

What the Famine Commission should do.

ask the Famine Commission to consider whether a permanent settlement of the land revenue all over the country is not calculated to attain that object. The other matters with which the Commission has been charged ought, no doubt, to receive its attention; but the Commission will serve no useful purpose if it does not solve the most important question of all—how to avert famine in future?

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

Mr. Badsha, Comptroller, Post Offices.

22. A clerk, writing in the *Hitavadi* of the 14th January, says that Government has an impression that Civilians know everything, and it has therefore appointed Mr. Badsha as Comptroller of Post Offices, although he is innocent of accounts. Mr. Badsha allows the clerks of his office to answer calls of nature only between 1 and 2-30 P.M., so that a very busy sight is presented during those hours, and the thousand clerks in his office can hardly finish the work within the prescribed time even by being at it six at a time. If any clerk falls ill, Mr. Badsha grants him privilege or casual leave with a reduction of a third of his pay. He wants despatch in preference to accuracy in accounts.

HITAVADI.

Honey-collecting in the Sundarbans.

23. During the last famine, writes the same paper, many poor raiyats borrowed money from *mahajans* to pay fees for collecting honey in the Sundarbans. In most cases they failed to collect enough honey, and far from making any profit could not even compensate themselves for the trouble and risk they underwent. This being the case, the difference between the fees they paid and the value of the honey they collected ought to be refunded to them, and the sooner the better. Being ignorant and illiterate these people cannot bring their grievances to the notice of the higher authorities, and have consequently to put up with oppression.

Here are a few instances to show what hardship these men have had to undergo. One of them was killed by a tiger, but the fee paid by him was not refunded. Another man prayed for the refund of Rs. 21, but the Conservator refunded only half that sum saying that the petitioner could have gathered more honey if he had exerted himself a little more. Comments are unnecessary. It is to be hoped that the Government will take pity on these men.

HITAVADI.

Plague inspection at Khana Junction.

24. The same paper complains that the plague inspectors at Khana Junction make an invidious distinction between Native and European passengers. They will not let off a native gentleman rich enough to employ a score of Europeans without inspecting or detaining him, but they will let off a European fit to be his servant without any inspection whatever. Babu Purnendu Narayan Singh is the Government Pleader at Patna. Some time ago he was coming down to Howrah with a few relatives and servants. He had provided himself with a certificate under Plague Regulation No. 2 of the 30th November last from the Magistrate of Patna. At Khana Junction he produced his certificate. But, strange to say, while his companions were let off without inspection, he himself was detained for the verification of his thumb impression. This caused him great hardship and inconvenience, and he reached his destination after several hours' detention. The Raja of Khaira and his sons were also placed in the same predicament not long ago. Who is to be held responsible for all this? The case of Purna Babu is not the only instance of oppression in connection with plague inspection at Khana Junction. This oppression would not have been so frequent if the Government had appointed native doctors for the purpose of inspecting railway passengers. It is to be hoped, however, that the Government will take notice of the grievances of the passengers and redress them as soon as possible.

BANGAVASI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

The *Pioneer* on the Plague Regulations.

25. The *Bangavasi* of the 15th January writes as follows:—

The Bengal Government has issued, at the instance of Dr. Lowson, stringent Plague Regulations, and preparations are being made for the erection of caste hospitals. With reference to these Plague Regulations the *Pioneer* writes as follows:—

"And if it is the proud boast of an Englishman that his house is his castle, to the natives it is something more; it is his shrine * * * When

sickness overtakes him, it is the first thought of a native to return to his house and there to recover or to die; within his own walls he is at peace as he can not be elsewhere. Nor is this all: the notion of solitude in sickness is to him unbearable: he looks to friends and kinsmen to cluster round him on sick-bed."

This is all very true. No other Englishman ever told before, as the *Pioneer* has now told, the word which lies deepest within the Indian heart. We hope the *Pioneer's* remarks will draw the attention of the authorities. To speak plainly, the native community will be thrown into a panic and will be at their wit's end if their houses are entered into during the plague and they are harassed in the name of science or humanity. The plague has not yet invaded Bengal, but the Plague Regulations have already produced excitement and disaffection among the Bihar people. We shudder to think what will take place when the plague will invade Bengal and the Plague Regulations will be enforced. "Is it wise," asks the *Pioneer*, "to run the risk of certain political trouble for the sake of dubious sanitary principles?" Quite so. You are powerful, you are all-suffering. But why drive insignificant insects like us mad?

26. The same paper has the following:— BANGAVASI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

The plague.

Plague mortality is falling in Poona and rising in Bombay. The scientists cannot account for this rise and fall. In our opinion a plague breaks out when God puts forth his *rudra sakti*, his destructive power, and the rise and fall of this mortality is due to the putting forth and withdrawing of that power. Inscrutable are the ways of God. Puny mortals as we are, we cannot successfully oppose the working out of a divine decree. But we are ignorant, we are boastful. We pretend to form our idea of the measure of the waters of the deep from a drop of water which we have measured. Scientific segregation, disinfection and inoculation have all been tried in Bombay for a year and a half. The accumulated filth of the town has been swept out of its nooks and corners. Houses have been pulled down and cleansed. But what is the result? Plague mortality has, all the same, risen by leaps and bounds, and as many as 211 people have died in one day. The plague, moreover, is not confined to Bombay, but has spread over the neighbouring districts of Poona, Satara, Surat, Baroda, Nasik, Sholapur and Belgaon. It is still spreading, and it has been proposed to establish a military cordon round Poona. The rulers of India are doing what they think it proper to do, but the Ruler of the Universe is also working out his will in his own way.

III.—Legislative.

27. The *Sahachar* of the 12th January says that the people of India should consider it a matter of congratulation that Mr. Chalmers is solicitous to bring the Indian law of sedition into accord with the law of England, that ancient nursery of liberty. But Mr. Chalmers should not be content with copying into the Indian statute book the written law of England on the subject, but should also introduce into this country the practice which prevails in England in dealing with sedition. An impartial Anglo-Indian like the Editor of the *Indian Daily News* says that the proposed amendment of section 124A may accord with the English written law, but there is no doubt that its enforcement will be much harsher than in England. Mr. Chalmers, indeed, should have been more careful than he seems to have been in finding fault with Sir Fitzjames Stephen's drafting of the existing section. Sir James was not only a learned man, but possessed an English reputation as jurist. If his drafting of section 124A was obscure on any point, it was obscure only in so far that it made no distinction between a criticism of the Government and a criticism of the Government's measures. With all the pains he has taken to clear up every obscurity in connection with this section, Mr. Chalmers has not been more successful than Sir James. He has given no meaning of the term 'disaffection;' he has only added to it the words 'disloyalty,' 'enmity,' 'ill-will,' 'hatred' and 'contempt,' without defining any of them. The addition of the last two words will make it impossible for a writer to criticise any act of a Government

SAHACHAR, Jan. 12th, 1898.

The proposed amendment of the sedition law.

officer without making himself liable to the charge of exciting hatred against him, and newspaper writing will become an impossibility.

DARUSSALTANAT AND URDU GUIDE, Jan. 13th, 1898.

The proposed amendment of the sedition law.

28. With reference to the proposed sedition law, the *Darussaltanat and Urdu Guide* of the 13th January says that the strongest protest against the law seems to have come from those writers who have no principle to regulate their thought. But those whose object is to write honestly and for the good of the public have nothing to say against it. It is not at all the object of the law to interfere with the liberty of criticising the actions of the Government or to gag the press and thereby bring about misgovernment. It must be borne in mind that there should be a limit to the liberty of the press, because too much of everything is bad.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The Religious Endowments Bill.

29. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* of the 14th January says that the central authority in regard to the management of religious endowments should be vested in the Government, and their supervision should be carried on by religious Hindu and Musalman officials under the Government's control. It is only such a method that will put a stop to any abuse of religious endowments. It is not probable that either the Hindu or the Muhammadan religion will suffer in any way in consequence of a Christian Government exercising supervision over the management of Hindu and Musalman religious endowments. The Government, too, will commit no sin by interfering in the management of such endowments in order to protect them from abuse by *mohantas* and *matwallis*. In fact, every pious, disinterested, upright and far-sighted man will support an alteration of the existing law relating to the management of religious endowments. Native society is no longer what it was fifty years ago, when rich men were not afflicted with a hankering for titles and thought it their religious duty to excavate tanks, make gifts of land, feed the poor and give away clothes to them. Every rich man in those days made large gifts of money and land for religious and charitable purposes when dying. That the descendants of many zamindar families, which have been ruined, have not yet to beg or starve, is only because their forefathers created *devottar* or *pirottar* out of the proceeds of which they are supported. But *devottar* and *pirottar* are now seldom created, and it is for this reason all the more necessary that the *devottar* and *pirottar* which already exist should be kept from misappropriation and abuse.

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The native press going to be bound by *nagpash*.

30. The *Hitavadi* of the 14th January has the following:—

We can hardly give an idea of the intensity of the displeasure with which the authorities regard the native press. The Secretary of State has explicitly declared before the English public that the Government has no intention of depriving the Indian press of its liberty. But, thanks to the newly devised measures, we can hardly expect the press to enjoy any freedom any longer. The man must be blind who fails to see that an indirect endeavour is being made in various ways to make the conductors of newspapers completely subject to and dependent upon the officials without directly depriving the press of its freedom; whoso fails to understand this must be a fool, and whoso is unwilling to say so is insincere. It is for politicians to decide whether this should be called "policy" or "diplomacy." This much can we say that a regular endeavour is being made to bind us *hard and fast* as if by *nagpash* which prevents the slightest movement of the body. Stricter provisions are being made with a view to prevent us from criticising the proceedings of the officials. On the plea of amending the law a provision is being made which will enable the officials to throttle us at their pleasure. From so many directions are we being sought to be entangled that we have no opportunity of looking in all directions. That is why we say that it seems as if the conductors of newspapers were being bound by a *nagpash* this time.

In what direction shall we look? In what direction shall we watch? There are nooses hanging on all sides. Let them be drawn a little tighter, and we shall have no way of escape open to us. So many weapons of destruction is Government amassing in the name of reform that the mere introduction of the measure inspires terror. The people are astonished, bewildered and stunned. It would have been a thousand times better to have openly deprived the press of its freedom. This duplicity is in no way creditable to Government. We are

therefore greatly pained to see the attitude of the legislators. Although we are sure that the English public will remedy it some day or other, although we see that this harassment and suffering will prove of short duration, we cannot make ourselves guilty of neglect of duty by desisting from protesting against this.

In the proposed amendment of the sedition law facilities are being afforded for counting hostile criticism as sedition. In the proposed amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure provisions are being made for including newspaper editors among *badmashes*, and by way of amending the procedure Magistrates are being empowered to convict or acquit newspaper editors summarily and without a jury trial. Even if this leaves any room for escape, it will be blocked on the pretext of amending the Indian Post Office Act. If this is not binding by a *nagpash*, what is?

When we heard that the rules of the Postal Department were being amended, we never dreamt that a way was being secretly prepared for our ruin. Few men have the leisure or the inclination to bother their heads about postal affairs. A proposed amendment of postal rules may suggest enquiries in some minds as to whether the postal duty has been reduced, whether the newspaper postage will be fixed at a pice for five tolas, whether half-a-pice post cards will be introduced and such like matters. But we could never bring it into our head that, by way of amending postal rules, dreadful rules would be introduced and that the liberty of the press and even personal liberty would be interfered with.

In the proposed amendment the rules relating to the transmission of indecent prints, &c., have been modified, and a seditious print has been included among the prints which the post office may refuse to send. The present rule runs as follows:—

"No indecent or obscene print, painting, photograph, lithograph, engraving, book or card or any other indecent or obscene article may be sent by the Inland Post, nor may any letter, post-card, newspaper, packet or parcel be sent having on it any words, marks or designs of an indecent, obscene, libellous, or grossly offensive nature."

The rule proposed to be substituted for this is as follows:—

"No person shall send by post any indecent or obscene printing, photograph, lithograph, engraving, book or card, or any other indecent or obscene article or any postal article having thereupon, or on the cover thereof, any words, marks or designs of an indecent, obscene, seditious, defamatory or grossly offensive character."

On a superficial view this rule may appear good. But a little reflection will show that, under the proposed rule, postal officers will be at liberty to return any newspaper at their discretion or at their sweet will and pleasure. All that would become necessary would be to declare that this newspaper is defamatory and that is seditious. There will be no one to overrule such decisions of the postal employés, and their decisions will be final. Need we say what amount of freedom will be enjoyed by the Press under these circumstances?

The present rule provides for the return of obscene prints, &c., to the sender through the Dead Letter Office. The rule runs as follows:—

"If any postal article manifestly contains obscene prints, photographs, etc., or if it should be observed that any letter, post-card or other postal article has upon it any words, marks or designs of an indecent, obscene, libellous or grossly offensive nature, such postal article will be forwarded to the Dead Letter Office for return to the sender."

But the proposed amendment provides for the opening, detention and destruction of seditious or defamatory prints at the discretion of the post office.

This is not all. Another dreadful rule is being made for the Postal Department. It is as follows:—

"*Section 26.*—On the occurrence of any public emergency, or in the interest of the public safety or tranquillity, the Governor-General in Council, or a Local

Goverment, or any officer specially authorised in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council, may, by order in writing, direct that any postal article or class or description of postal articles in course of transmission by post shall be intercepted or detained, or shall be delivered to the Government or to an officer thereof mentioned in the order, to be disposed of in such manner as the Governor-General in Council may direct.

(2) If any doubt arises as to the existence of a public emergency or as to whether any act done under sub-section I was in the interest of the public safety or tranquillity, a certificate signed by a Secretary to the Government of India or to the Local Government shall be conclusive proof on the point."

What is this but to be bound by a *nagpash*? Let the Bill be passed, and the officials will be easily able to prevent the transmission by post of any newspaper without being bound to assign any reason, offer any explanation, or enter into any argument. The conductor of the newspaper will not be informed of his offence before this penalty is inflicted. This is liberty of the press with a vengeance! All freedom of movement will become impossible under this superabundance of liberty. Look where you will, you will find alarming things and nooses.

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

31. The same paper writes:—

The Religious Endowments Bill.

It argues no ordinary penetration in the *Englishman* that it has, from its Hare Street office, been able to see that Hindus will be pained by the passing of the Religious Endowments Bill. The discriminating *Englishman* says that none of those who drink water with shoes on, who subject themselves to medical treatment according to the European system and who receive English education, are regarded as Hindus by their orthodox co-religionists, and that the Bill should not therefore be passed at the prayer of those men.

It is not suprising that the petitioners against the Bill should have recourse to such worthless arguments. But is it not surprising that the *Englishman* should countenance such an unreasonable agitation? Granting that those who receive English education and subject themselves to European medical treatment forfeit all claims to be called Hindus, how dare the petitioners call themselves Hindus? Have not those who have signed their names in English and requested the *Englishman* to plead their cause received English education? Dare they say that their costume and ways and habits have not been affected by English education?

Those who really compose Hindu society will never make use of such worthless arguments. We can show that most *pandas* and *mohants* are tainted by Western luxury and wear foreign costume. If to do so be to cease to be a Hindu, they ceased to be Hindus long ago; besides this, many *pandas* have tainted shrines by their wicked character, and this the hypocrites who oppose the Bill will not be able to deny. The *Bangavasi* wrote as follows some years ago:—

"The taint is not confined to Tarkeswar; it extends all over the country, and places of pilgrimage are abodes of sin. Puri, Vrindaban, Gaya, Vaidyanath, Benares—what place is free from stain?"

Some ignoble opponents of the Bill urge that there is no agitation against it because the people of this country do not know how to agitate. If this be the case, how is it that there was so wide an agitation against the Consent Bill?

HITAVADI.

32. The same paper has the following:—

The proposed Calcutta Municipal Bill.

Our blood has dried up only by hearing that the Calcutta Municipal Act is going to be amended. Already the ratepayers have to suffer extremely from the illegal acts of the municipal officers, and it would be easier to imagine than describe how much more they must suffer if the powers of those officers are increased.

Only a third part of the members of the General Committee will now be elected by the Commissioners, and the decisions of that Committee will not be subject to their control. All appointments of Rs. 500 and under will now be made by the Chairman without any reference even to the General Committee. There can be no doubt that the proposed arrangement will be worse even than the arrangement obtaining in Bombay. Already the procedure of the municipal office is most irregular, and when municipal officers are made

independent of the control of the Commissioners that procedure will become still more unsatisfactory. We can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the ruler of Bengal himself is resolved to lay the axe at the root of Self-Government in the metropolis of India. But so unfortunate are we that nothing is impossible in our case.

33. The *Samay* of the 14th January writes as follows:— SAMAY, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The proposed amendment of the sedition law.

Let section 124A be amended in any manner you please there will be miscarriage of justice in some form or other so long as no provision is made for the empannelling of native jurors in the trial of a native. In England the law is that a man must be tried by his peers. But in this country Europeans ignorant of the language of the accused are empannelled to try a native. Let section 124A be altered in any way you please, if you only introduce the practice of empannelling native jurors in all cases for the trial of a native prisoner, we are out of danger. But this cry is a cry in the wilderness. Mr. Chalmers is soon going to sound the death-knell of the native press in the Legislative Council.

34. The *Sanjivani* of the 15th January has the following :— SANJIVANI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

The Criminal Procedure Bill.

Section 320 of the Criminal Procedure Bill exempts certain persons from the liability to serve as jurors or assessors and among them are lawyers and police officers. We have no objection to the exemption of police officers, but we think that the exemption of lawyers will seriously interfere with the administration of justice. The lawyers are an educated, intelligent and independent section of the community. They are pre-eminently gifted with all the qualities which are calculated to make an efficient juror. They are best fitted to judge how far the deposition of a witness is reliable and how far not. They are not blindly guided by the opinion of the Judge, and none are better fitted than they to defeat police conspiracy and baffle police machination. They often prove of great help to poor people who cannot engage a lawyer for their defence by cross-examining prosecution witnesses and thereby determining how far a case is true. Sir Henry Prinsep does not tell us why lawyers cannot make efficient jurors. Lawyers are exempted from serving as jurors or assessors in England, we do not know why. We are not aware whether the circumstances which may justify this exemption in England also exist in India. But this we know that in England an accused person enjoys many privileges which are denied to an accused person in this country. It is beyond our comprehension why an accused person in this country should be practically deprived of the benefit of trial by jury, while he is not allowed to enjoy the privileges which are enjoyed by an accused person in England.

The fact is that if lawyers are exempted from serving as jurors or assessors, the police will have an opportunity of getting things done in their own way and of having people sent up by them indiscriminately imprisoned. The independence and fearlessness of the lawyers have made them an eyesore to highhanded officials, and it is our impresion that this is the reason why it has been proposed to exempt them from serving as jurors or assessors. Is not Sir Henry Prinsep aware of the difficulty which has been caused by the recent circular issued by the Government, exempting lawyers from serving as jurors or assessors? In many cases Judges have found it impossible to empannel a jury and have been forced to take lawyers in spite of the circular in question. Doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters and Magistrates are the most intelligent and enlightened men in this country. Doctors and Magistrates are exempted from serving as jurors or assessors. If lawyers also are exempted, it will be almost impossible to get an adequate number of intelligent men on the jury list, common as well as special. Is it in the contemplation of the Government to discredit the jury system by making uneducated and ignorant men jurors and assessors? If not, it should not adopt a measure which is sure to swell the jury list with the names of illiterate village *mandals* and shopkeepers selected at random by the police.

Section 391 of the Bill has our approval. According to this section, "where the accused is sentenced to whipping in addition to imprisonment, the term of imprisonment shall not be less than three months." In our opinion the section should be so framed as to prevent a Magistrate from executing a

sentence of whipping before the case, if appealable, is decided by the Appellate Court.

The proposed amendment of section 476 is objectionable. Under the section, as it stands at present, a Court may commit a person for trial to the nearest Magistrate of the first class if in his opinion that person is guilty of an offence under section 195 of the Indian Penal Code. Proceedings under this section may at any stage be questioned by way of revision, but according to the proposed amendment "proceedings under this section shall not be questioned by way of revision under Chapter XXXII or otherwise." If the accused does not take objection to his trial by a particular Court at the commencement of the proceedings, the High Court shall have no power to transfer his case to another Court. This is, to say the least, an encroachment not only upon the rights of the accused, but also upon the independence of the High Court.

SANJIVANI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

The proposed amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act.

35. The same paper learns from the *Bengalee* that the Government has made up its mind to amend the Calcutta Municipal Act. According to this proposed amendment there will be twelve instead of eighteen members in the General Committee. Of these twelve, four will be nominated by the Government, four will be elected by the Municipal Commissioners from among themselves, and the remaining four will be nominated by the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association and the Port Commissioners. The official element will thus predominate in the Committee as the members nominated by the Government are sure to be supported in every thing by the members who will be returned by the European traders and merchants. The Municipal Commissioners, therefore, will have virtually no control over the General Committee, which will be a tool in official hands and will act independently of the Municipal Commissioners. The proposed amendment is said to give the Chairman the power to appoint his own men to posts carrying salaries of Rs. 500 per month and downwards without consulting the Municipal Commissioners or the General Committee. The result of this will certainly be the introduction of Europeans and Eurasians into all the high posts in the municipal office. The Commissioners will also be deprived of the salutary power of superintending over the municipal employés. The Chairman is not likely to keep a constant and vigilant watch over the whole army of municipal employés, who will henceforth be left to themselves and will work and act as they please.

It is said that the Government has secured the consent of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State to the proposed measure and has collected a mass of opinion against the existing municipal constitution. We are praying for more rights and privileges; but the Government is taking away even the few rights and privileges which we have so long enjoyed. If the proposed amendment is passed, the municipal executive will lord it over the rate-payers, and the Municipal Commissioners will become mere ornamental figure-heads.

No one ever dreamt that such a calamity would befall the Calcutta Municipality during the rule of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. There are hundreds of natives in Calcutta who are fit to rule a Province, and the regret is that their representatives are not considered fit for transacting municipal business. It is now proposed to deprive the natives of the little power of self-government which they have been so long enjoying and vest it in the executive.

As for the present constitution of the Calcutta Municipality, it is not certainly perfect and has many defects. But so far as things go, its good points preponderate over its bad points. Frequent changes and alterations are not desirable. Moreover, every system ought to be given a fair trial before it is condemned. The Calcutta Municipality, as at present constituted, has done nothing so bad as to demand a root and branch change in its constitution. The enemies of the Municipality complain that the building regulations of the Municipality do not prevent the building of insanitary houses. Let the Government issue better building regulations, and if the Commissioners fail to have them enforced, then take measures against them, but not before.

BANGAVASI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

Why a fruitless agitation again?

36. The *Bangavasi* of the 15th January has the following with reference to the proposal of holding a public meeting to protest against the proposed amendment of the sedition law:—

If we carefully consider our own condition, the condition of our country and the circumstances in which the British Government is placed at present,

we cannot resist the conclusion that it will not be at all advisable for us, subjects as we are, to protest against the proposed amendment of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. In the first place, our protest is not likely to prove successful. In the second place, the keenness and harshness of our protest is most likely to offend our rulers. In the last place, even if the Bill is passed in a modified form, the offended officials will vigorously enforce its provisions and thereby make matters too hot for us. Even a good law, vigorously enforced by an offended executive, proves oppressive, and we need not say what will surely happen if a hard-and-fast law like the one under notice is enforced in all its rigours with the zeal and enthusiasm of offended officials.

It ought, moreover, to be well known to us that the British Government has now become thoroughly conversant with our nature and the condition of our country. It does nothing without carefully and fully considering all the circumstances of a particular case. We do not think that the Government is going to introduce such a revolutionary measure as the one in question without taking all things into its consideration, without making up its mind to pass it. We poor and weak subjects of a powerful Government ought not to protest against a measure which it has made up its mind to pass. We well know that the British Government can, if it is so disposed, desolate the whole country from Bhamo to Peshawar, so great is its prowess, so irresistible is its might. It is simply for the sake of good government and for our protection that our rulers have passed so many laws and have made so many arrangements for their proper administration and strict enforcement. It will be too much to think that seditious writing or seditious speech-making is likely to do the least harm to the Government. Gnats and bugs can do very little harm to the human body, and nothing is easier than to crush them to death. The spread of disaffection among us can do very little harm to the powerful British Government; but if, in consequence of being once offended, the Government takes measures against us, we are sure to be crushed to death. This is why our kind, forbearing and intelligent rulers have proposed to amend the sedition law with the sole object, no doubt, of keeping us under proper control. Mr. Chalmers said this clearly in the Legislative Council.

What right again have we to find fault with the proposed measure? What do we know or understand of the inner working of the administration? How far are we conversant with the true state of things in the country? The Government so long gave us freedom of speech, and we have exercised that freedom with a vengeance; we have said many things right and wrong, coherent and incoherent, in season and out of season. But now that we have got over the stutter in our speech and have learnt to distinguish right from wrong, it has become urgently necessary for us to observe and study a little reserve in our speech. The little child is a privileged sinner, but a grown up boy must be taught discipline and self-control. What good have we done by chattering and smattering so long? The volubility of our speech has only increased our own irritation and prejudicially affected our spleen and phlegm. It has, moreover, caused disunion and quarrel among ourselves and produced heart-burning and irritation. It has made us tall talkers and clever speakers, but it has not taught us concentration, obedience, self-sacrifice, humility and conscientiousness—qualities which go to make a man of business. It has, therefore, become urgently necessary for us to practise silence a little. But we cannot act against our nature and are not likely to practise silence and moderation of our own accord. This is why the Government is going to compel us to practise these two virtues by passing a law controlling our speech. Let us see how far this law succeeds in bringing about the desired result. In our opinion, moreover, the right of freely discussing politics ought not to be granted to any one and every one for the mere asking. No right, no privilege ought to be made cheap and easily obtainable. Make a right or privilege cheap; it is sure to be abused. It is the difficulty of acquisition which makes a thing dear and valuable. A political right or privilege ought not to be made easily acquirable, for that will diminish its value; first deserve then desire a political privilege. Be entitled to it, and it will be given to you. A right earned with difficulty is not likely to be abused. A political right is a dangerous right and ought not to be made a plaything of. To be a politician, moreover, one must carefully study the secrets of politics and the mysteries

of policy. But we do not understand, nor do we care to understand these secrets. Take one instance. Have we closely studied the Bombay and Poona affairs or clearly understood the policy underlying them? Why, we ask, did the Government make so much ado and take recourse to the roundabout process of the law to punish insignificant Tilak, while it took summary measures to punish the Natu brothers, two first class Sardars in the Deccan? Why did the rulers submit themselves to so much trouble and inconvenience in bringing the puny journalists to justice, while they had the power to crush them without much ceremony? No one among us, however great may be his pretension to political sagacity, can satisfactorily answer this question. And why? Because none of us know what is going on behind the scenes.

So we humbly pray our countrymen to pursue fruitless political agitation no more. Read the newspapers conducted by Europeans in this country, and you will know in what light you are looked upon by most of them. The Bombay affairs have taught you how fruitless are your prayers and demands for political rights and privileges. The plague regulations have taught you what your experience and your wisdom count for in the eye of your rulers. So be calm, be quiet, practise reserve in your speech. The British Government which rules the world and possesses a higher intellectual capacity, will do whatever it thinks proper. The cry of three hundred millions of men like you cannot and will not move the undisputed rulers of the world.

So give up fruitless agitation and useless discussion of politics. You have got Hari for your shelter and protection. Take his name and worship him and your mind will be purged of all that is unclean in it and will shine like molten gold cleared of its dross. Give up your luxurious habits. Be god-fearing and learn to bear fatigue and hardship. Learn unity and look after your homes. Children of beggars brought up in poverty, it does not behove you to assume the airs of a prince and play princely games. Come, let us look after our homes, our society, our religion, our *Sastras*. Let us serve our parents and worship our gods. We have many things and many interests to occupy us. We shall be able to pass our time with these things. Let politics be consigned to the depths of the Bay of Bengal. Pursue fruitless politics no more.

BANGAVASI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

The Indian Post Office Bill.

37. The same paper has the following with reference to the Indian Post Office Bill:—

The Indian Post Office Bill deals, among other things, with seditious writings and publications; section 20 of the Bill runs as follows:—

"No person shall send by post any indecent or obscene printing, painting, photograph, lithograph, engraving, book or card, or any other indecent or obscene article or any postal article having thereupon, or on the cover thereof, any words, marks or designs of an indecent, obscene, seditious, defamatory or grossly offensive character."

And the following occurs in section 26 of the same Bill:—

"On the occurrence of any public emergency or in the interest of the public safety or tranquillity the Governor-General in Council, or a Local Government, or any officer specially authorised in this behalf by the Governor-General in Council, may, by order in writing, direct that any postal article or class or description of postal articles in course of transmission by post shall be intercepted or detained, or shall be delivered to the Government or to an officer thereof mentioned in the order, to be disposed of in such manner as the Governor-General in Council may direct.

"(2) If any doubt arises as to the existence of a public emergency or as to whether any act done under subsection 1 was in the interest of the public safety or tranquillity, a certificate signed by a Secretary to the Government of India or to the Local Government shall be conclusive proof on the point."

In short, the Government is going to take steps to put down the publication of indecent, obscene, seditious and defamatory writings of a grossly offensive character. We do not think that by the measure under notice the Government intends to put down the publication of newspapers in the country. We do not believe that a Government which can put down the press by a single fiat will adopt a round-about method of suppressing it. The intention of the Government seems to be this. Let there be newspapers in the country, but

let their conductors be wise, experienced and courteous. We can have no objection to this. Even if we object, our objection is not likely to be heard. Our journalism is a copy of English journalism, and we are bound to carry out the behests of Englishmen. Let the Government tell us to write honeyed words in ink made of honey and we shall at once obey the command. It is not a wise policy to give vent to one's feelings or make a clean breast of what one thinks and feels in season and out of season. Keep your thoughts to yourself so that they may be properly digested. If you cannot do so and if your feelings prove too much for you, then go and kill yourself by drowning.

Being a subject people you ought not to give vent to your feelings before your rulers. This legal *nágpásh*, these hard-and-fast laws are meant to tie down your venomous tongue. During the rule of the Badshahs a discourteous, impertinent, rash, obscene and evil-speaking tongue used to be torn off. The British Government, however, is going to let us off with a warning, is going to keep us under proper and salutary control. The kindness and benevolence of the Government have agreeably suprised us.

38. The *Dacca Prakash* of the 16th January writes as follows:— DACCA PRAKASH, Jan. 16th, 1898.

The Criminal Procedure Bill.

If the Government had paid heed to the opinions of the native press on legislative measures, it would have acknowledged the value of the suggestions which that press has from time to time made for amending the laws which, in their operation, have led to injustice and oppression, and it would not, by its legislative proposals, have created such widespread discontent as it has just now excited. That under the existing state of things the burden which should be borne by one man is thrown on the shoulders of another, the right possessor is ousted by the trespasser, the man who has committed no offence is punished instead of the man who has, the law leads to increased litigation and to ruin and the Government has to act in the dark, is due solely to the circumstance that Government is deaf to the representations of the native press. The officials listen, of course, to such representations as agree with their taste; but they do not listen to those representations, however important, which they do not like. It is for this that the writer has not criticised the Criminal Procedure Bill. It is, also, unwise to make a protest without considering how matters around stand; protest not carefully made is calculated to do more harm than good.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

39. The *Faridpur Hitaishini* of the 12th January has the following:— FARIDPUR HITAISHINI, Jan. 12th, 1898.

The patriotism of the Englishman and the Indian compared.

Thirty years ago, a certain British resident of Cashmere took with him to England a piece of Cashmere shawl which he had purchased for £5,000. He made a present of the precious thing to the Prince of Wales, who thanked him for the present, but declined to accept it. The shawl met with the same fate on its presentation to a Lord and certain other persons. It happened that the gentleman who had made the present and some of those to whom the present had been made met at an evening party, when the latter on being questioned by the former as to the reason of their refusal to accept the shawl, unanimously replied that they had declined it because they did not wish to encourage the old and precious art of India which they wished to see extinct, and that if any one of them had accepted it, some more pieces of Cashmere shawl would certainly have found a market in England. Now look at the reverse of the picture. A certain Indian Raja had purchased robes worth a lakh of rupees in France, and it is said that Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore has brought out from England a clock at a cost of Rs. 45,000 for furnishing his *boitak-khana*.

40. The *Darussaltanat and Urdu Guide* of the 13th January has the following:— DARASSALTANAT AND URDU GUIDE, Jan. 13th, 1898.

The Indian Musalman and the Sultan.

A pamphlet has been published under the name of *Baz-Musalmanon-ki-afsosnac-galati*, denouncing the Musalman belief that the Sultan of Turkey is their Caliph or Imam. The question of the Caliphship of the Sultan being a purely religious one, it rests with the *Ulama* of Islam to deal with it. The writer of the pamphlet, a layman as he is, has no *locus standi* in the discussion of this question. If

the pamphlet is viewed from a journalistic standpoint, it can be said that the writer's real object is to throw the entire blame of disloyalty upon the Musalmans and to advise them not to do anything which may have a tendency to create disaffection towards the Government. It is perfectly true that a Musalman, no matter whether he believes the Sultan to be his Caliph or not, feels a pleasure when he hears of a victory by a Musalman potentate, be the victor the Sultan of Turkey or the Amir of Afghanistan. This is the reason why the Musalmans all over the world congratulated the Sultan on the success of his arms in the late Græco-Turkish war. But this does not mean that all Musalmans are, politically speaking, at one with the Sultan. If the Gladstonian antipathy against that ruler is great, the Musalman sympathy with him is greater. So long as the Musalmans are given the liberty to follow their own religion, it would be un-Musalman of them to take up arms against their alien rulers. If the writer of the pamphlet under review means to say that the Musalmans must not sympathise with one another because such sympathy means disloyalty to the Government and hostility to Christianity, he raises a wholly different question which has nothing to do with the Caliphship of the Sultan.

HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

41. The *Hitavadi* of the 14th January writes as follows:—

Rebellion in India.

Even many Englishmen believe that it is not possible for the conductors of native newspapers to be disaffected. Every man with common sense must be convinced that no Indian can proceed to overthrow the system of administration upon which depend our peace and happiness, position and dignity, and by the overthrow of which our honour and property, nay, our very lives, would be endangered. Those, therefore, who are resolved to make out the conductors of native newspapers to be rebels say that we are not rebels at heart, but we write inflammatory articles with an eye to our trade and with a view to pecuniary profit. An English paper writes:—

"We are informed by a gentleman who resides in India that the real motives of such sedition-mongers as Tilak and other proprietors of native papers is not a desire to promote rebellion, but the mere commonplace necessity of earning a living somehow. There are multitudes of half-educated natives of India who being unable to get any minor official post under Government have recourse to abusing in the most scurrilous terms the English and all their ways. As a matter of fact, the vast majority of Indians are neither loyal nor disloyal to British rule, but are simply indifferent. The intense mutual jealousy that exists among native princes causes them to be perfectly loyal to the British Raj."

We have no hesitation in declaring the informant of this English paper grossly ignorant of Indian affairs. The statement that newspaper writers in this country take to abusing Government merely because they fail to make a living in any other way is utterly unfounded. The idea of making a living by conducting a newspaper is an absolutely impracticable one in this country. Most newspapers in this country have to suffer pecuniary loss, some manage with difficulty to make the two ends meet, while only a few make some profit. But even these last can make no profit for years together, if they have to figure as a defendant in a defamation case. An enquiry will satisfy Government that almost every newspaper conductor in this country follows a different business for his living. The informant of the English paper would have had some justification for what he has said, if newspaper writing had been a profitable concern in this country as in England. But there can be no doubt that such a thing as he has said must be impertinent where the prospect of profit is so small and where people conduct newspapers, in most cases, only from a sense of duty. It would not have been so very wide of the mark to say that newspaper conductors in this country are actuated by a love of fame.

The English paper would have done well to take a survey of the career of the very Tilak to whom it has referred. Tilak's journal "Kesari" is indeed a profitable concern, but Tilak cannot be said by any means to depend upon its income for his living. It is not unknown to many officials that Tilak could, if he chose, enrich himself by becoming the chief officer in a Native State. One who reflects that he has sacrificed such a prospect in order to devote himself

to the work of promoting the welfare of his country will never say that he abused Government for the sake of a living.

Everybody acquainted with Indian affairs knows that the strong language sometimes made use of by native papers in criticising Government measures is prompted by strong feeling and not by disaffection. We have shown on many previous occasions that newspaper editors in this country have most to fear from a political revolution, for they owe their influence and importance, in short, everything, to British rule. The conviction is not, therefore, to be removed from our mind that the editors of native newspapers cannot become rebels either from inclination or for the sake of a living.

No thougtful man in this country can become a rebel. As for the thoughtless, they do not concern themselves about State affairs at all. They are content if they get food when hungry, and they take the name of their Queen when the burden of their taxes is increased. No section of the Indian people is disaffected.

It may be said that it is not impossible for any people in the world to become guilty of disaffection for the sake of gaining freedom. But so wide are the social and religious differences between the different communities composing the Indian population that it seems impossible for them to combine for political freedom. The ascendancy of one would be intolerable to the others. A united effort for political freedom is, therefore, out of the question here. Everybody must admit that the English rule is the best that has yet prevailed in India. If we, therefore, express dissatisfaction, it is not because we are disaffected, but because we are disappointed in those legitimate hopes which have been awakened in us by English rule, English education and English example. We never even dream of a political revolution on account of such dissatisfaction. We only seek redress by constitutional agitation. Those who cry '*victory to huzoor*' at every step do not express what they really feel. We do not wish to deceive Government by having one thing in our hearts and another thing on our lips.

42. The same paper publishes a cartoon in which a bull with a human face is represented in the act of butting a Hindu and a Musalman who are shown as drawing back with horror depicted on their faces, while a European is represented as whipping the animal. The letter-press is as follows:— HITAVADI, Jan. 14th, 1898.

A cartoon.

O incarnation in the form of a bull, do not open your mouth nor lift up your horns. We bow down to your hoof.

The bull's proceedings.

Everything will become topsy-turvy. The old bull is become mad. Now Halim *chacha* save yourself. Lo! how it tosses its horns and comes rushing. There was, as we hear, a great warrior, Hearsey, who cured it by the application of his whip, so that the contemptible creature was kept in check. But now the smart of the whip is gone. Let every one now run for his life. This is a terrible bull with a white skin and it will rend all Prayag (Allahabad.) Having received the cudgel, the rash animal no longer looks backward. It does not go where there is a whip, but butts black people leaving all the white people alone. It's roar is rending the universe and no one ventures to walk the streets. There is the kind Municipality. Let it yoke the creature to a conservancy cart, so that its jumping and bounding may cease and the earthquake at Prayag may be over. Let it leave off laughing loudly and talking big and dash its head against the ground if it will.

43. The *Englishman*, observes the same paper, has taken up arms against the Congress. It goes the length of calling the President of the last Congress disloyal because he believed that there was oppression in Poona in connection with plague inspection. But if Mr. Sankar Nair has sinned in this way, many Europeans also have sinned with him The writer has not the presumption to call Lord Sandhurst's veracity into question; but as his Lordship does not see things with his own eyes, the writer would place more faith in Ramabai's complaints than in Lord Sandhurst's contradictions. The *Englishman* suggests that Mr. Sankar Nair should be compelled, like Mr. Gokhale, to retract his HITAVADI.

The *Englishman* on the Congress.

statements. Why not compel Ramabai to retract her statements before thinking of making Sankar Nair retract his? The authorities can threaten the public into silence, but no force or compulsion will remove a deep-rooted conviction from their mind. Who, again, will decide whether Ramabai or Lord Sandhurst has spoken the truth?

SAMAY, Jan. 14th, 1898.

44. A correspondent writes as follows in the *Samay* of the 14th January:—

The Congress.

In the present circumstances of the country it is perhaps desirable to keep in abeyance for some time political agitation of such a high order as the Congress agitation. The time is not, in my opinion, yet ripe for such political agitation. There are three classes of Congressmen. The first class is composed of men who have entered the Congress fold either for the sake of name and fame or for the sake of some sordid interest. Many Congress leaders belong to this class. There are some among them who care more for the Congress finances than for anything else. At the time of the last Calcutta Congress some of these leaders were caught redhanded. There are many such black sheep in the Congress fold, and I am prepared to produce incriminating letters in a law court, if I am required to prove the truth of what I say.

The second class of Congressmen do not concern themselves about the Congress affairs. They are, so to speak, *huzuk*-mongers. They attend the Congress meetings simply with the object of enjoying the Christmas holidays as best they may. Most of the Congress delegates from the mufassal belong to this class. The third class of Congressmen are comprised of a few individuals who are really earnest about the welfare of the Congress. But they, too, are growing hopeless. The truth is that we care more for our own interests than for the interests of the country. We are not fit persons to carry on an agitation like the Congress agitation.

SANJIVANI, Jan. 15th, 1898.

45. The *Sanjivani* of the 15th January writes that Babu Mohanlal Kshetri of Salkea, in the Howrah district, has erected a bathing *ghat* at a cost of sixteen thousand rupees. He largely patronises clubs and public associations, and feeds hundreds of beggars in his residences at Benares, Brindaban and Salkea every day. He also sends drinking water to Saugor for the use of pilgrims. The Government ought to confer a title on such a charitable and public-spirited gentleman.

A recommendation for a distinction.

URIYA PAPERS.

URIYA AND NAVASAMVAD, Dec. 1st, 1897.

46. Referring to the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Bill, the *Uriya and Navasamvad* of the 1st December is sorry to point out that the changes proposed are worse and are generally retrogade. The writer is of opinion that the innovations are more in favour of the conviction of the accused, however innocent he may be.

The Criminal Procedure Bill.

UTKALDIPIKA, Jan. 4th, 1897.

47. The *Utkaldipika* of the 4th December is sorry to notice that the word *sedition* is a vague word and is capable of different interpretations by different men. It is a convenient term by which the authorities, when ill-advised, may put the editors of Indian papers into trouble. The writer is opinion that the word should be clearly defined.

The proposed sedition law.

CHUNDER NATH BOSE,
Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 22nd January 1898.

W. S & E. J. H.—Reg. No. 74190—77—26-1-98.